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For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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George Seldes, Editor

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(add) Press Fools Public

WHEN newspapers expose a crook—as for example, Pegler's exposé of petty gangsters not one as vicious as Tom Girdler whom Pegler nominates for production chief of the war program—then action follows, and the racketeer or pinball operator or loan shark is brought to justice. But since it is impossible to expose the newspapers themselves, the papers which smash the canons of journalism continue unblushingly on their course of fooling all the people all the time.

Having suppressed or buried the Tolan, Truman and Arnold exposés of the treason of Big Business—the NY Times printed 4 columns but left out names of General Motors, Alcoa, Bethlehem Steel, etc—the same newspapers played the crooked lefthanded game of playing up the Vinson Committee report which went out of its way to smear labor. The Times, for example, used Page 1, Col 1 Jan 21 to play up anti-labor aspects of the Vinson report.

Every anti-labor radio commentator and newspaper columnist joined in fooling the American people with the Vinson propaganda which attacked the labor unions for having assets of \$82,594,939 and gaining 14.85% in a year. None of them mentioned the fact it represented only a little over \$13 per union man. Nor did the anti-labor newspapers give equal space to President William Green of the AFL who said the Vinson claim that labor was benefitting from the defense program "is utterly without foundation or substantiation; it constitutes a slur on the record of the American trade union movement. . . . (It) is conclusive proof of the committee's anti-labor bias."

Here Are the Facts

HERE are the facts which President Green supplied every member of Congress and the venal press of our country—facts which should have been placed on Page 1, col 1, if the press were honest:

1—That the \$10,679,000 increase in the assets of 117 unions with a membership of 6,085,000 workers over the period from Oct 1, 1939 to March 31, 1941, represents only 9.7 cents per member per month.

2—That the great bulk of the union assets are in funds of benefit systems such as unemployment insurance. death, disability, health and retirement and that these funds are far from being clear assets.

3—That in the 14-year period from 1927 to 1940, AFL unions have paid their members over \$450,000,000 in unemployment, sickness, disability, old age and death benefits, thus freeing

100 Prominent Americans Hold Mussolini's Medals p. 1 Franco's Bloodstained Decorations Not Returned p. 2 War, Democracy and Propaganda, by Prof C R Miller p. 3

ANY newspapers throughout the United States carried stories and photographs last week applauding the surrender of Fascist medals by American recipients. In New York Mayor LaGuardia had himself photographed with 21 German, Italian and Japanese decorations which will be melted down for their copper, silver and gold. Some of these medals were awarded as far back as 1896.

Nothing, however, was said of the thousands of Americans who have aided Italian Fascism since 1922 and Hitler since 1933 and who received their decorations for services to an ideology and political system which threatened the rest of the world, and which America is now mobilizing 10,000,000 young men and \$100,000,000,000 to defeat.

Considerable has been written about Lindbergh wearing both the Nazi and Japanese decoration and refusing to return either; of Thomas J Watson, president of the International Business Machinery Co returning his Hitler medal only after Hitler had been at war more than a year; of James B Mooney, liaison officer of the American defense program, who received a swastika from Hitler when head of General Motors German branch, and of Henry Ford, most notorious wearer of the Hitler medal in the country.

IN FACT has also pointed out (Sept 22 1941) that (Lieut Gen) Knudsen praised Hitler-Germany as "the miracle of the Twentieth Century," that Sorensen of the Ford works, and scores of other notables had expressed themselves in favor of Hitler-Germany, and thousand of Big Business Americans had since 1922 praised Mussolini for "making the trains run on time."

Fascist Medal-wearers Can't Fight Fascism

These facts were exposed long before the Tolan, Truman and Arnold reports to Congress proved that 18 months of the American defense program had been largely a failure and that Big Business and its leaders ("Knudsenism") had been to blame. In Fact also pointed out that almost a year ago the Washington correspondent I F Stone in a book, "Business As Usual (the most important book of the year 1941) had written:

"You cannot fight an anti-Fascist war under the leadership of men who do not hate Fascists. You cannot take men who wear Hitler medals and create an anti-Fascist general staff of them. The preferences of most dollar-a-year men were clear enough. They were more interested in weakening democracy at home than in resuscitating it abroad. They provoked strikes by paying low wages—and then called for bayonets to end them. They shut their eyes to shortages of raw materials at home while they shipped oil, copper, steel and other war materials to our enemies."

To this very moment not only are men who are not anti-Fascists still in high office, but also many who have in the recent past joined with Coughlin, Merwin Hart, Lawrence Dennis, Generoso Pope, Kenneth Roberts, the Saturday Evening Post, Lindbergh, Fascist Congressmen such as Clare Hoffman of Michigan, and the leaders of the National Association of Manufacturers in aiding either the Italian and German brands of Fascism or native American Fascism.

Both Italian Fascism and German Naziism came into power through blood-shed and terrorism. Mussolini and Hitler personally ordered murders committed. Both engaged in wars against defenseless people. Nevertheless, thousands of American Congressmen, business leaders and writers acclaimed both of them even after they had committed murder. Many of these persons are still Fascists, although they may be shouting patriotism in the press and the halls of Congress. They are a danger to America's war against Fascism. In Fact will supply the evidence in future issues.

The wearing of a Fascist or Nazi medal is of course not conclusive proof of Fascism; it does mean the recipients were pro-Fascist enough or ignorant enough to accept gifts from Fascism. It is of course possible that some of these persons

have returned their decorations now that we are at war; perhaps a few returned them earlier. In Fact will be glad to print a list of all persons who have done so. The following hundred persons, including Army and Navy officers, according to an official announcement from Rome, are among the many hundreds who accepted medals from Mussolini:

ARMY AND NAVY (AND POLICE?) OFFICERS AWARDED MUSSOLINI'S DECORATIONS; GRAND OFFICERS, CROWN OF ITALY

Admiral Ernest J King Admiral W T Cluverius Maj Gen Denis Nolan Maj Gen Benjamin D Fulois Maj Gen Frank Parker Brig Gen Alfred T Smith

OFFICERS NAMED COMMANDERS, CROWN OF ITALY

Vice Admiral Yates Sterling Capt Halsey Powell, Chicago Capt J T Yates, NYC Admiral N M Nulton Brig Gen Frank Bolles Capt Wm R Sayles, NY
Col Frank M Andrews, Chi
Admiral H G Hamlet, Coast Guard
Capt Hayne Ellis, USN
Capt C H Hubbard, Chi

OFFICERS, CROWN OF ITALY

Col Barton K Yount
Col Jos A Marmon, 16th Reg
Capt John D Price, USN (Air)
Lieut D H Dexter, Coast Guard
Capt Arthur B Cook
Gen Roy D Kern, Chi
Commander Harry G Patrick

Col Wm Ottmann, 212th Reg Capt Hamilton V Bryan Lieut John F Gillon Capt Frank Kenner, Coast Guard Col W G Caples, Chi Col T A Siqueland, Chi

CHEVALIERS, CROWN OF ITALY

Capt Carl W Connell, Air
Col Roy C Kirtland, NY
Maj Davenport Johnson
Lieut Wm J MacKiernan
Maj Asa N Duncan
Capt Albert S Marley, USN
Capt Arthur B MacDaniel, Air
Capt Frank H Roberts, USN
Capt E A Evers, Chi
Capt George Putnam, Washington
Capt Paul Butler, Chi
Capt John J Carrick, Chi

Maj J W Kelly, Bennett Field
Col Charles Burnett
Lieut James D Tayler
Capt Earl Y Spencer, NY
Lieut James A Pike, NYC Police
lieut Robt F K Hickey, USN
Capt Harold C Major, Air
Col John N Schulz, US Army
Capt L W Perkins, Chi
Col James H Graham, Chi
Maj John Baunder, Chi
Capt Emil J Carroll, Chi

American Civilians Decorated by Mussolini

Hundreds of Americans, including several representatives of the great news gathering agencies and great newspapers which claim an Olympian impartiality, have been decorated by Mussolini. Here are a few of them:

Grand Officers, Crown of Italy: Sosthenes Behn, International Tel & Tel

(deceased); Ellery W Stone, ITT.

Commanders, Crown of Italy: Ex-Mayor O'Brien of NYC; James H Kimball, NYC; H H Buttner, ITT; Raphael E G Berlingeri; E E Aldrin, Standard Oil; G C Stuart, NY; John D Reilly, Todd Shipyard; Mayor Edward J Kelly of Chicago; the Rev Robert O Kelley, president, Loyola University; Capt Pilade Leoni, ITT; John Kilpatrick of Madison Sq Garden; Alberto Bonaschi, NY Chamber of Commerce.

Officers, Crown of Italy: Wm T Miller, commercial air inspector; Romolos

Cacciarella, NYC; Federico Ossanna, Minneapolis.

Chevaliers, Crown of Italy: Rex Martin, Dep't of Commerce; T E Nivison, Mackay radio; John A Bossen, Mackay; O W Lee, Mackay; Edw Thornburg, ITT; Thomas F MacAndrews, NYC; T N Powers, Postal Tel; Cesare Canale; Gaetano Gailorenzi, NYC; Salvatore Bonanno, NYC; Giuseppe Susca, Giuseppe Brancucci, Ernesto Luzzatto; Wm H Adey, Customs service; Davis L Sutton, Chi alderman; L P Bonfoey, Chi; Geo W West, Chi; Denis E Syllivan, Chi; M J Aylesworth, National Broadcasting Co and former publisher NY World-Telegram; Stanley E Hubbard, Chi radioman; Pietro M Messe, Lake Geneva, NY; Menotti Nardi, Chi.

Bloodstained Decorations from Spanish Dictator

Celebrating the first year of his reign as Fascist dictator of Spain, following a civil war in which he pinned the medal of the Sacred Heart of Jesus on the uniforms of his Moors and led them to the massacres of thousands of civilians (about 90% Roman Catholics), Francisco Franco awarded the Great Cross of Isabella, the highest civilian decoration, to the following seven American citizens:

Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago, who had died a year before and who would not have accepted it, inasmuch as he had denounced Franco and Franco-Fascism in his diocesan weekly, The New World. This award of a medal to a deceased prince of the Church was a clever Fascist trick, aimed to give the impression the primate of Chicago had favored Fascism.

Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia. On the very day Dougherty told newspapermen that Franco would never do such a thing as murder civilians in an air

the communities from a heavy relief burden.

4—That union funds are not used for profit making or to engage in any business enterprise but belong to the union members and are collected and expended at their direction.

5—That increases in union assets are due to increases in union membership, the paying up of dues by members formerly unemployed, and the fact that the no-strike policy has considerably cut down the disbursements for strike benefits.

Hearst Editor on Spot

THE Hearst papers which take General Motors ads have been defending Knudsen and other \$-a-year men who caused the failure of the US defense program for 18 months. Peoples Lobby in April 1941, Rep John M Coffee Aug 6 in Congressional Record, President Murray of CIO throughout 1941 denounced \$-a-year men. Nevertheless, Hearst NY Mirror editor Jack Lait wrote an IN FACT reader who protested Hearst defense of Knudsenism, and said it was "common knowledge" Knudsen and others were incompetent:

Dear Mr F...... Your letter received. Will you kindly give us a more precise definition of "common knowledge." Can you or do you know anyone who can prove not only the broad charges against the '\$-a-year men' in Washington, but any one instance against any one of them? If you can, or can put us in a position where we prove such charges, we will publish it on Page One.... This offer is open to you, Mr Murray, or anyone else, and I put this in writing so that you can hold me or the Mirror to it.

Yours sincerely, Jack Lait, editor.

As In Fact reported (Jan 19) the Tolan Committee report, first to expose the \$-a-year men as saboteurs of defense, was entirely suppressed in Hearst Mirror. It was not frontpaged. But Mr Jack Lait, who used to be a liberal once, is so accustomed to dining on Mr Hearst's shoe polish that it would be useless to try to hold him to his letter.

Krock and "Ding"

THE NYTimes' Washington bureau chief, Arthur Krock (recently exposed as having published a military secret, the decision to defend the Philippines) is one of the Times' many anti-labor writers. His column is a mixture of personal spite, anti-labor venom, and distorted news. On Jan 6 he denounced the "concerted attack" on OPM and Mr Knudsen "which, in dictator countries with a controlled press would be thought to be following a planned 'party line.'" Actually, the press, uncontrolled by gov't, but pressure by advertising, made no "concerted" attack. The press, including Krock's Times, and 99% of the rest of the big papers, defended Knudsen. Only the free press-2 or 3 papers, most liberal weeklies-exposed Knudsenism, Krock, however, is clever enough to twist the facts to make out a better case for Knudsen and against labor. Krock maintains that "sit-down, sabotage and slow-ups" which manufacturers charged in their advertising, did hold down production "in a quantity sufficient to fight a major engagement." Labor denies this. But even if true, such actions are minor compared to the sit-down of capital and management which Thurman Arnold exposed and which the labor

press statistically showed cost 60 times

the man-days lost by strikers.

And even the cartoonists join in the Hitlerian attack on labor in their brasscheck attempt to defend treasonable Big Business. Says Railroad Brotherhood organ "Labor" (Jan 13): "One of the meanest and most unscrupulous of all the propagandists connected with the American press is the cartoonist Ding. [J N Darling, syndicated throughout the US by NYHerald Tribune.] He has found it highly profitable to libel all progressive movements, and he is particularly vicious with dealing with trade unions. ... The thought Ding attempts to convey is that Uncle Sam may be forced to settle with the Japs because our defense program has fallen down on account of the '18,000,000 man-days lost by strikes and general complacency.' . . . Ding desires to fool his readers into believing that strikes have seriously affected our defense program. He fears to lie about the number of days lost by strikes, because then it would be comparatively easy to expose him. So he drags in 'general complacency,' an expression which cannot be defined and, therefore, is meaningless. . . The astounding thing is that newspaper publishers, who insist they wish to be fair, persist in printing this creature's false and misleading drawings."

Luce's Foul Blow

DIRTIEST sneak punch at labor in a long time is swung by March of Time, in the current issue, Main Street. This is the way March of Time gets in the

below-the-belt blow:

The film aims to show what would happen to a typical American small town if Hitler conquered the US and established his New Order. Down comes the American flag, up goes the "N.O." emblem; streets are deserted, storm troopers shove people around, synagogues and churches are attacked, free speech and press die, dissidents are executed, men, women and children. That's the windup of the picture, and it's plenty horrible.

Leading up to this is a sequence of Main Street today, with life and activity, as America prepares to fight. Soldiers march, crowds cheer. Then March of Time takes you into a supposedly average Main Street home, that of "William H Davis." The Davises are at dinner; William Jr, is home from camp on leave; there's a younger sister, a kid brother. Suddenly the famous March of Time voice quits rasping, and the audience hears this dinner table conversation:

Bill Davis, Jr: . . . and it doesn't make it any easier when we hear about all these strikes in defense plants.

Bill's Father: It seems to me these labor bosses have forgotten that Hitler is the worst enemy labor has got.

Are You Moving?

Notifying IN FACT directly rather than the Post Office brings best results. Cut out your name and address from the front page, write your NEW address on it and mail to us with 5¢.

On all correspondence dealing with your subscription, it is essential that you cut out and enclose your name and address from the front page.

Back copies of IN FACT prior to No. 60 are no longer available. raid, the Pope protested to Franco the three-day bombing of Barcelona by a dozen planes which resulted in 28,000 casualties.

Archbishop Curley of Baltimore, active in politics and pro-Franco.

Archbishop Molloy of Brooklyn whose diocesan weekly, The Tablet, vies with Coughlin's Social Justice in publishing racial hate propaganda and which supported the Christian Front hoodlums.

Odgen H Hammond, ex-ambassador, pro-Fascist, whose son-in-law Count Roberti of Italy, was stopped at the border for smuggling \$2,000,000 into Mexico.

Dr Alexander Hamilton Rice of Boston, pro-Hitlerite, pro-Fascist, sponsor of Fascist meetings.

William Cameron Forbes, former US Ambassador to Japan.

PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS FORCED TO SUSPEND

ITH its No 13 of Vol IV, Propaganda Analysis, published by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, suspended publication, at least for the duration. It was founded with a small grant of money, \$10,000, from Edward Filene, progressive Boston merchant. He had intended leaving it a large sum, if it was successful, but he died before changing his will, and as a result the Institute, which made enemies everywhere because it tried to tell the truth, had to beg the big Foundations (most of which are devoted to maintaining the conventional

lies of our civilization) for subsistence grants.

The Institute did not have the support of the press because most of its exposure of bad propaganda was based on what the newspapers printed. Of its work the final bulletin says: "The newspapers, commonly thought of as enterprises in which an editor makes decisions with Olympian detachment, were shown to be creatures of their business, social and popular relationships, influenced by the biases of the publisher and his social circle and those of the readers, whose patronage is needed to interest the advertisers. The radio likewise was seen to be influenced by the biases of the advertisers. . . . Similarly, the leading propagandists of the day ceased to appear as mere individuals. . . . When the ideas of Father Coughlin were viewed in the light of the 7 propaganda devices, it became evident that he was not the harmless crackpot many had thought; he was playing with Fascism, drawing many of his statements word for word from German propaganda literature."

In a final letter to subscribers the Institute announces it has arranged for its unexpired subscriptions to be fulfilled "by another publication of similar aims," the monthly Common Sense. To both the action and statement IN FACT, as a subscriber to the Institute, objects. In a recent issue Common Sense published one of the foulest smears of liberal institutions, also of Friday and IN FACT, by a member of America First. Moreover, although IN FACT's editor wrote to the editor of Common Sense that the article was slanderous and libelous, Common

Sense refused to publish the letter.

We have been hearing from other subscribers to Propaganda Analysis, who know the character of Common Sense, since the above was written, and their objections to being "sold down the river" to Common Sense coincide with our own.

WAR, DEMOCRACY AND PROPAGANDA

BY CLYDE R MILLER

Associate Professor of Education, Teachers College, and Secretary, Institute for Propaganda Analysis

HE Institute did not have enough funds to continue its work; quite aside from the war issue, it would have had to suspend anyhow for subscriptions were falling off and donations and grants were not coming in. I am reasonably sure we could have obtained money from interventionist sources but we would have had to weight our analysis accordingly; it is possible, too, we could have gotten money from isolationist sources, but again our analyses would have had to be weighted. We could not solicit nor accept such money and still maintain our

integrity.

The final bulletin is not entirely correct when it indicates that the Institute Board, in deciding to suspend publication, held that "the publication of dispassionate analyses of all kinds of propaganda, 'good' and 'bad,' is easily misunderstood during a war emergency, and more important, the analyses could be misused for undesirable purposes by persons opposing the government's efforts." That was not a unanimous opinion. I do not recall this statement being made at the final Board meeting in October. I saw it a day or so after the meeting in a press release. I disagreed and still disagree sharply with this point of view and requested that my disagreement be incorporated in the final bulletin. This request was not granted.

I held and still hold that analysis is particularly needed in the crisis of war. True, out of analysis may grow sharp criticism, but such criticism again and again has been the factor which has strengthened democratic society. My faith in democracy is such that I know it not only requires this criticism but that it can "take" it—even in times of great emergency. Then, indeed, is when analysis is most needed. Look at England. Had there been no analysis of the policies of the British government, it seems quite likely, as Ambassador Davies has pointed out in his significant book, Mission to Moscow, Hitler today would be controlling all of Europe; had there been no analysis, the Chamberlain appeasers would still

be ruling England; had there been no analysis, not only would Hitler not have been stopped, but the war, once begun, might have been lost months ago.

Such times as these demand more democracy, not less of it. These should be days of democratic gains—not losses and retreats. Constant analysis is more necessary than ever to reveal what is wrong and what ought to be done to right it.

Much of our propaganda for democracy preaches democracy but the preachment does not coincide with the practice. It is the terrifying disparity between preachment and practice which brings frustration, bitterness and cynicism and thus destroys the morale which America and all democracies must have to grow stronger and to win. Look at the disparity between some of our glittering generalities such as freedom and justice for all and the treatment accorded aliens and Negroes not only by private business but by government itself and by the American Red Cross. Think of the Navy denying to Negroes the very right to die for democracy. Think of the Red Cross refusing to accept blood from Negro donors.

If these things were not aired—as fortunately they have been—the results for democracy would be even worse than they are. I think it is a good thing that analysis is continuing in radio commentaries and in the press, including your own admirable publication. I don't like all this analysis. Some of it, I think, is

mistaken, and obviously no newspaper can be right all the time.

Nevertheless, I think democracy would be pretty well on the way out if everybody were to take the position of some of our Board members and say that during a war emergency we shouldn't have analyses because they might be "misused for undesirable purposes by persons opposing the government's efforts." Good Heavens! for the sake of democracy the government's efforts should be opposed when these efforts by analyses are clearly revealed as being undemocratic.

You may gather from this that I am biased. You would be right. The Institute has been biased in favor of democracy from its very inception. I wish that bias could have continued more vigorously in this period and the days that are ahead of us that our work might have grown in excellence and that funds might have been forthcoming to expand the program of analysis.

They don't even have labor unions in Germany now.

That's all there is to it. Then you go into scenes of USO activities by the Davis family, and finally into the picture of America under Hitler's heel. There's nothing before or after this little dinner table colloguy, to make it in the slightest degree relevant—no discussion of how fast or how slow defense preparations are going, who's holding up what, whether labor is to blame or capital. March of Time simply slips it in, like a drop of poison, and leaves it. So artificial is the addition of this anti-labor slant that when a certain progressiveminded theater manager—in a midwest city-snipped the scene out of the film, nobody noticed its absence. He acted on the protests of some of his theater patrons. In Fact readers who come across March of Time Main Street, should remember that prompt and vigorous protest may limit to some extent the spreading of Mr Henry Luce's anti-labor poison.

For Boston Consumers

DR Colston E Warne of Amherst, president of Consumers Union, whose statement on advertising appeared in IN FACT Jan 12, will speak on "Consumer Needs in War-time," Tremont Temple, Boston, Feb 18.

IN FACT'S subscription contest

It is a straightforward plan of building IN FACT through its readers. It includes rewarding our subscribers for the work they have contributed and will contribute now and after this contest is over. This contest will not serve to profit any person or group except you and 'THE MILLIONS WHO WANT A FREE PRESS'.

GEORGE SELDES IS WRITING A NEW BOOK!

Every contestant will receive a FREE copy of George Seldes' new book "THE FACTS ARE . . . A guide to FALSEHOOD and PROPAGANDA in the NEWS and RADIO." This book is now being written. It will be printed exclusively for IN FACT and will not be available to the general public. It will show in words and pictures how the press and radio fool the people. "THE FACTS ARE . . ." should be in the hunds of every IN FACT reader.

CONTEST DEPARTMENT, IN FACT, Inc., 19 University Place, New York, N. Y.

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PRIZES

1st Prize—A \$100 defense bond to the contestant sending in the greatest number of IN FACT subscriptions at \$1.

Ten 2nd Prizes—A \$25.00 defense bond to each of the ten contestants turning in the next highest number of yearly subscriptions at \$1.

Ten 3rd Prizes—\$15.00 in defense stamps for the ten contestants turning in the next highest number of yearly subscriptions at \$1.

Special Prizes: For 25 subscriptions at \$1. Phonograph records or books (your choice) \$7.00 retail.

For 20 subscriptions at \$1. Phonograph records or books (your choice) \$5.50 retail.

For 15 subscriptions at \$1. Phonograph records or books your choice) \$4.00 retail.

For 10 subscriptions at \$1. Your choice of 4 books from list of 11 books. See Feb. 2nd issue for full description of prizes or write IN FACT.

CONTEST RULES *

A contestant is any subscriber to IN FACT (excepting employees of IN FACT and their families) who sends in a minimum of 5 yearly subscriptions and/or renewals at \$1 not later than 12 PM, May 8th, 1942. . . Subscriptions and /or renewals may be sent in any form but must be clearly marked for "CONTEST" and should be addressed to "CONTEST DEPART-MENT," IN FACT, 19 University Place, New York, N. Y. . . . A contestant may receive the help of friends or family, but only the contestant will receive credit. . . . Subscriptions and /or renewals must be accompanied with the full amount due (use money order, check or registered mail). . . . Do not hold up subscriptions; send them in as you get them. Contest ends 12 PM, May 8th, 1942.

* Condensed from the complete statement of Contest Rules appearing in the Feb. 2 issue. Copy mailed free on request.